301 The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
237 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[381] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
●796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]):
"... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
776 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 1

Anhanguêra — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Anhanguêra — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se êle cair.

A young shaman, in a tranced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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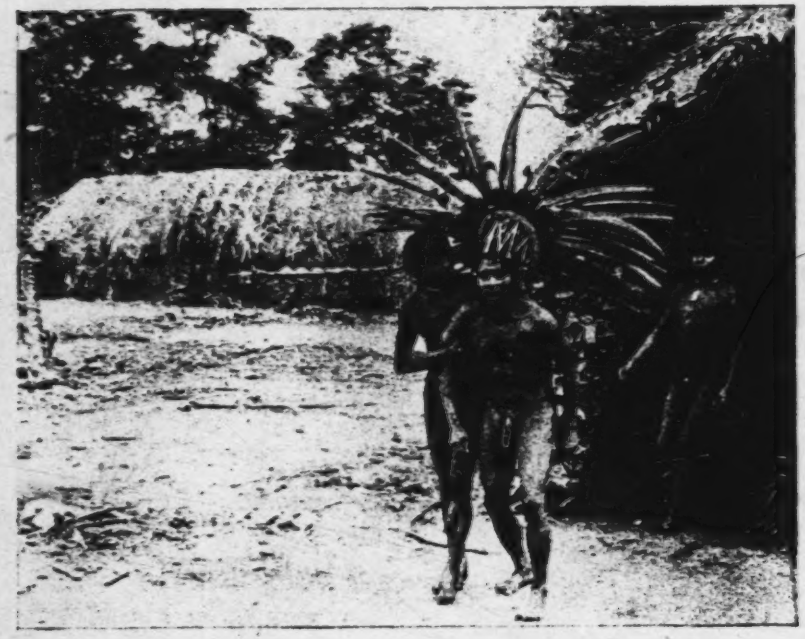

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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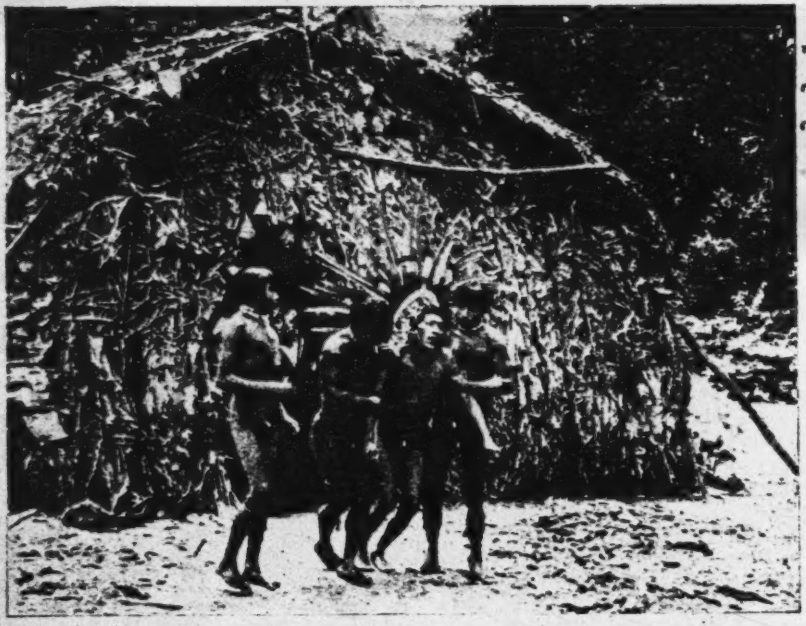

Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rigido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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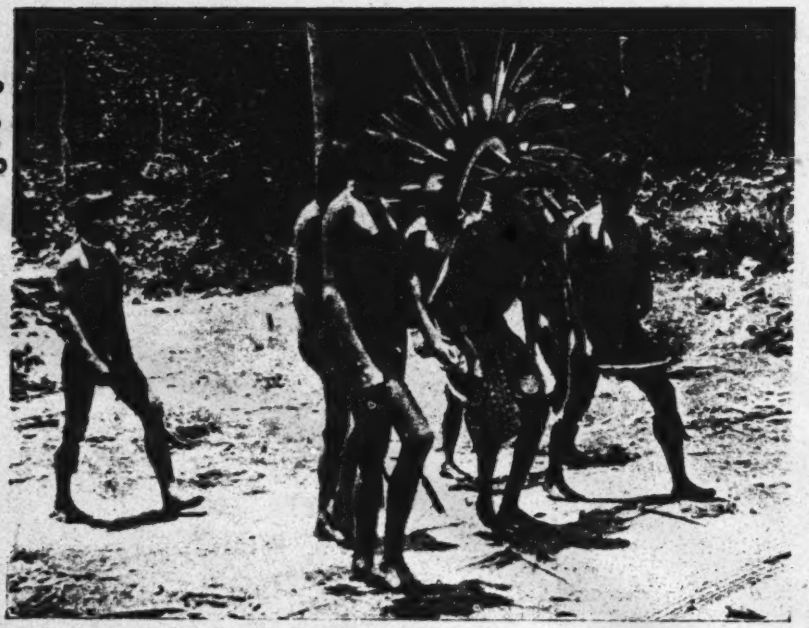

Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairabo's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Panteri.

The same young men carrying Panteri.

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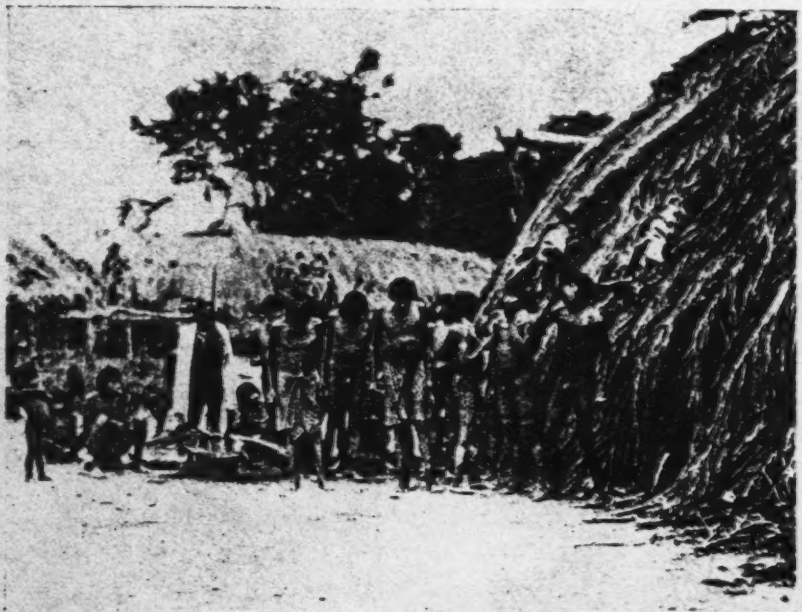

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Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reüniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

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EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

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A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de dansa, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pagé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—‖—‖— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—‖—‖— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p.54]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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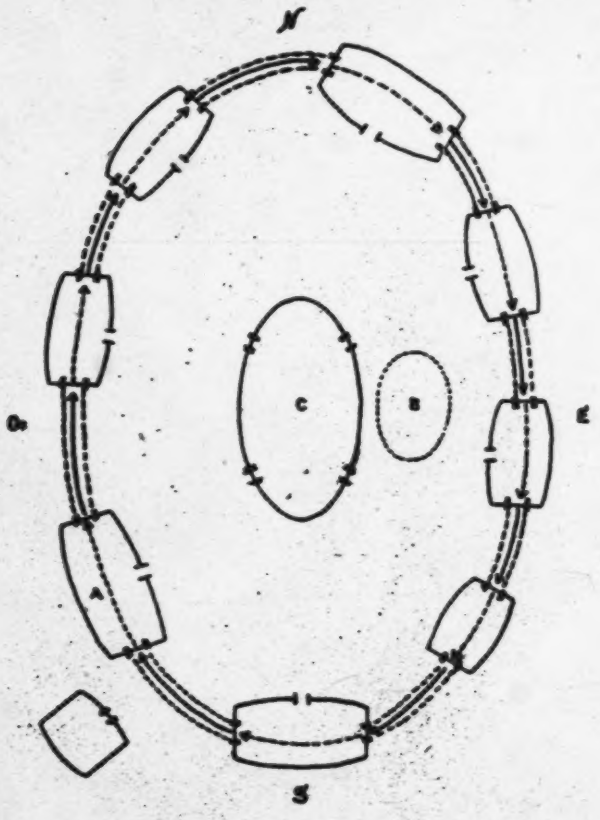

Fig. 13

Disposição das nove casas da aldeia, com as portas provisórias para o circuito da Cerimônia do Trovão.

Arrangement of the nine dwellings of the village, with the temporary side doors opened to form the circuit for the Thunder ceremony.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many socó (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ančúnga* had several pots of *kaui* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kaui* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kaui* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kaui* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *ančúnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *oréya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *oréya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted. "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ančúnga anú awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ančúnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kaui* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21).

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses.

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people.

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi-

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder 776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. [821] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various [775] supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans [782] (*pančé-iúnwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pančé iúnwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

Topi are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children; but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

796 821 Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pančé-iúnwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi- [766] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Metraux's, 1928. *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning by Panteri, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morning very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *topi* and *pancé-iinuera* the next day. He sang that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Panteri had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu relaxed into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with this wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies continued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the topi's arrows. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [534] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikoriwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-iúnwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *topi* and *pančé-*
ianawera to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
[533] accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Panteri stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
796 me that he had seen *pančé-ianawera* sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *topi*. He moved
backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the side-lines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Panteri, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Uru-
kumu looked where Panteri had pointed, put his hands over the back
of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are
many *pančé-ianawera* and many *topi* in the house", one of the Indians
told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the cere-
mony fell suddenly to the ground; only Panteri and Urukumu were
strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of
the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and mas-
saged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a topï*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topï*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topï* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pančé-lúnwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others reenacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *ančúnga aiwiró*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (*in* Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

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171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans excercized such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

Case of Kamairaho

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pančé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *ančúnga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Panteri and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topi*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinamba, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erchaffung und Vernich der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 40, pp. 337-338, Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sôbre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Imformants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

Case of Pančei

Pančei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

Case of Anawani

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *pančé* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topï*. [581. 589]

Case of Kanacipã

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Case of Ipawungi

Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančúnga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančúnga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

Case of Campukwi

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony; he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many topi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

264 574 476 [262] [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ˜ to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

431 574 [622] [177]

264 476 574 [554] 123 Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[597]

264 574 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

535 [776] Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

132

574 796 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 264 476 574 [462] On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ˜ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *caru*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15] One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamá l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Réligion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topïi*. *T'opïi* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topïi* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topïi*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topïi's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topïi*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topïi*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topïi* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topïi*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topïi* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topïi*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topïi* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topïi* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*aygnan, aguin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 579 616 [796] [538] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

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forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Te 182 [796] [22] of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te 476 796 596 182 Te [177] Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was maleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te Ta 161 182 183 105 571 This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Te [797] Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign disease) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more maleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 171 161 182 571 Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kire marriage

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

The ančunga iũnwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú ankã, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankã were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaõ) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans